#### THE NATIONAL ERA.

CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO.

SPEECH OF MR. JOSEPH M. ROOT, OF OHIO, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1850 In Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Resolution referring the President's Message to the appropriate Standing Committees.

Mr. Root addressed the Committee as follows : Mr. Chairman: In the remarks which I shall submit to the committee I do not intend to wander far from that portion of the President's annual mess-ge which relates to the Territories recently acquired from Mexico. I shall first notice his recommendation respecting California; and I beg leave here to say, that perhaps under other circumstances I should feel disposed to criticise some of the proceedings which led to the formation of a constitution for California and her application to admitted into the Union as a State. I might think that a better boundary might be prescribed for her on the east. Yet as things now stand I am perfectly willing, ready, and desirous to have her recognised as a State with her boundaries as they are. I go further, and say that I wish her eastern boundary were the Nucces instead of the one she has prescribed for herself. Sir, with all that territory, California would not be much larger than Texas—certainly not larger than Texas would be if she could get all she claims; and it would enable us, if she were admitted a State of that size, to make some of those fair compromises of which we have heard so much of late could then carve out of California a free State to go along with any slave State that might be carved out of Texas. But that is out of the question now; and I only repeat what I have said before, that in the present state of things I am glad that California bas sa much territory within her boundary, and I shall go for recognising her as a State, admitting her into the Union, and ratifying all that she has done in the premises, notwithstanding any irregularities that may have attended those transactions.

So far I am ready, Mr. Chairman, to second the President's recommendation. But he has gone further, and has given us advice with respect to the residue of the territory acquired from Mexico. He does not tell us what he desires us to do, but tells us he desires us to do nothing; that we should let New Mexico and the rest of that territory alone—have nothing to do with it. Again, with respect to the boundary of Texas, he desires us to let that alone too. He warns the legislative authority not to interfere with that matter.

Here, sir, I cannot follow his advice : here must be permitted to question the wisdom of his recommendations. I am for doing something. I believe that Congress has a duty to do, and I am for having it done by Congress. And I would like to have that done which I believe best, not only for that territory, but best for the whole country; said I believe that, so far as the oversten of action or non-action is concerned, a large majority, both in this House and in the other branch of Congress, are the favor of ic. Certain I am that the let alone policy-the "masterly inactivity" policycannot find many friends among the people. To be sure, there may be very wide differences of opinion among gentlemen. Some may desire that one thing, some another, and some that still anthere is a majority of this House who are in favor of having something done. Most gentlemen seem to think that action, and prompt action, is required at our hands; and I may be permitted, I trust, to express my surprise at the wooderful change that has been going on in the mind, not only of the President, but of a good many of his Northern friends, since the close of the last session of Congress. I need not tell you how urgent the friends of the President were then to have some sort of a government provided for California. I do not, of my own knowledge, say that the President was urgent. I never heard him say a word on the subject; but it was said he was; and a paper in this city, professing to be advised of his opinions, and to speak for him, said he was very anxious indeed that Congress should provide some government for California. Why, his conversations were published in many newspapers-whether or not I don't know; but it was asserted, and so far as I know not contradicted, that he urged personally upon members of Congress, "For God's sake to provide some government for California, beside the government of the bowie-knife; and the only dispute about what his views and the Senate, and was stuck on the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill-known as the Walker amendment; others said he was perfectly indiffer ent as to what kind of government it was, so that some government was provided. Well, Congress did not provide any government. You know why, Mr. Chairman, as well as I do-any member of the last Congress, who was present at the close of the last session, must have understood perfectly well why a government was not provided for Cal-ifornia. It was not the fault of the House. The House, in season, passed a bill providing a territorial government for California; they sent it to the Senate in time for that body to have acted upon it, if they had been disposed to do so; but that august body did nothing with it; they laid it away, and it was never heard of again. next we heard from them on the subject was a money bill-the civil and diplomatic appropriation hill-with the Walker amendment attached to it. I think it was pretty generally believed at the time by the friends of the present Administra-tion, and perhaps by others, that that amendment was to become a law. I cannot speak authorita-tively, but I know we had a very decided expression of opinion from gentlemen, then and now men who were to pass it were, it was said, all we were told it would go through. We had some many loose ones. The latter gave the former a good deal of trouble and vexation of spirit. All who were here at the last session must remember that last memorable night—Saturday night and Sanday morning. We remember what efforts were made to pass that Walker amendment, and we remember how it was defeated. It no er was relinquished until it became a "fixed fact," that, if insisted upon to the bitter end, the whole civil and diplomatic appropriation bill must be lost. Ay, I know the fact now, and I knew it then, that there were a sufficient number of men bound to that purpose; and they would have carried it out if God had spared their lives and strength. Yes, sir-I was one of them. Never, never should the Walker amendment go through the House, if we by any legitimate proceedings could prevent it. We are told that Southern gentlemen have that

A voice. Yes, and we intend to profit by it. Use it spariogly, gentlemen. We had only thirty-six hours to fight against. I believe if we had had thirty-seven some of our men would have given out, and they were precisely those who were fiercest at first. If you begin six months beforehand you will get out of breath, I think. Don't jump too quick, nor take too long a start. Take it coolly, as we did, and then—good luck

Let me inquire again why it is that the Administration, which was no longer ago than March last so anxious to provide some kind of a Government beside a "bowie-knife government for California, which then had a population, believe, not extending 20,000, should now, when we come to consider of a territory containing a population of at least 100 000, think a "bowie knife government" is just the right sort of government for them? If they wanted a law enacted for California last session, why not have a law enact-ed for New Mexico now? If a bowie-knife govvernment would not answer for California then with a population of 20,000, why is a bowie-knife government good enough for New Mexico now, with a population of 100 000? "Oh! there is a little alarm among them about Indians; but then there is a sufficient military force to protect them."
Is that all the danger? What say the people, or rather, what says their Convention, of their wants, vishes, and condition? If there was evera people be clear law, a law that can be easily understood and

and with but little prospect of a very rapid in-crease, for it is in the hyperborean region. At this season of the year, traveling is done there on snow shoes. It is a good lumber country, a fine country in many respects, and it will be peopled when our Northern people have nowhere else to go, and some may prefer perhaps to go there when they could go elsewhere. But there was a great necessity, it was said, for a Territorial Govern-ment there! and my colleague [Mr. Schenck] ment there! and my colleague [Mr. Schenck] really incurred a good deal of censure at the time, because he insisted that we should be careful what kind of a Government we provided for those people, and that time should be allowed to examine and perfect the bill. The case was so urgent,

it was said, that the bill must be passed at once. I am unwilling to leave the people of Nev Mexico, Deseret, &c., without law, or without officers duly authorized to administer the law. I am unwilling to allow executive discretion as wide unwilling to allow executive discretion as wide scope there as it has had in California; and I am a prohibition which is good for nothing. We could still more unwilling to allow the military Government that seems to be the only one that the United States has provided for those people, to continue longer. Such things were bad enough in time of war-they are intolerable in time

Indeed, sir, so obviously proper is it that Congress should provide a Territorial Government for those people, that some of the wisest of the friends of the Administration in Congress have, in the face of the recommendations of the Executive, expressed a determination to bring in a bill, or bills, for that purpose; and I only regret that they do not propose to have their bills contain a prohibition of slavery in all the territory, but the bills might be amended by inserting such a prohibition, if there were even in this House a majori-ty in favor of it. I am for doing that. I believe it to be not only the right but the duty of Congress to insert such a prohibition. I believe we have the authority to do it, and that a majority of the people of the United States desire that it should be done; that it would be better for the the United States, better for the people of the Territory, better in every respect that it should be done. I will not enter into an argument here about the effect of the law of Mexico, the law of about the country as it existed when we acquired it. Suppose, sir—and I will not dispute the fact—that the law in and of itself prohibits slavery; we know that a large and respectable portion of the people and of the people's representatives insist that it does not exclude slavery. They claim that the people of the slaveholding States have the right to go there with their slaves, and hold them as they could at home in their own States. While men of wisdom, patriotism, and determination, hold that this is the fact, that this is the clear law of that land, that this is their undoubted right, and whilst they declare that they will ex-ercise that right, are we to be told that it is unnecessary and inexpedient to settle this vexed question? However clear my own opinion may be, since a respectable portion of my fellow-citizens entertain a different opinion, I will go for settling the dispute, for quieting the controversy, for putting this bone of contention out of the way

Well, sir, what are the objections to the enactmajority of their Representatives and Senators will vote for it, why should it not be done? let me ask. "Oh, because it is a disturbing question—because it will disturb the harmony of the country!" I strongly suspect that this argument is hard traffer men the fast that it will disturb the harmony of the country!" I strongly suspect that this argument is because it will disturb the narmony of the try!" I strongly suspect that this argument is based rather upon the fear that it will disturb the harmony of party—that it is a good deal more on harmony of party—that it is a go than the harmony of the country. Again: it is said that it would be "aggression" upon the slaveholding States; and we are warned, solemn; ly warned, and exhorted—gentlemen say they do not intend to menace us—but to warn us to cease our aggressions—the South will never submit to Are not gentlemen mistaken as to the fact of there ever having been any aggressions upon them? Why, who has been gaining most relatively since the Constitution was adopted. What kind of results have followed these longcontinued aggressions on the South by the North What was the state of things at the adoption of the Constitution? There were thirteen States To be sure, slavery in some form still existed in a majority of them; yet there were not to exceed five that did not at that time contemplate an almost immediate abolition of slavery within their respective borders. And, sir, there were not to exceed three whose delegates in the convention did not express the hope that the day was not far distant when it would cease to exist entirely. I do not say that they were unanimous in this exhere were men from Virginia and from North Carolina, who expressed the wish and the hope that slavery should be abolished in

Mr. Ashe interposed, and wished Mr. Root t mention the name of any man from North Caroli-na who, in the convention, expressed the hope that slavery would be abolished in North Caro

Mr. Root. It wasn't the gentleman, nor any of his ancestors. [A laugh] I think I am correct in the statement I have made; but if there were even four States whose delegates did not express the hope that slavery would be abolished in their States, there was a majority of anti-slavery States. There were all the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, anti-slavery States. To be sure, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, had slaves, but they were all looking forward to the time when they would get rid of slavery. It was an anti-slavery convention; formed out of that Territory, and every one of them was to be a free State. So that the anticertain, that the disproportion would shortly become still greater. Certainly, the "balance of States great advantages over the free States; till now, after "sixty years of aggression by the North upon the South," there are just as many slave States as free States in the Union, and gentlemen tell us that it would be an unheard-of out rage for a free State to be admitted into the Union without, at the same time, admitting a

I may add, that the framers of our Constitution seem never to have contemplated the acquisition of territory from other nations. If they did, they made no express provision for its disposition and management. Doubtless they had a distinct idea of what kind of authority might be exercised under the war-making and treaty-making power. But all the provisions of the Constitution relative to territory seem to refer to the ter-ritory which the United States then possessed; but it by no means follows that Congress authority to make laws for and to govern the territory we have acquired since. Under the treaty-making power we have both acquired and ceded away territory, and yet it is claimed that the law-making power of the United States may not gov-ern such territory. Sir, it always has done it. Southern Representatives and Senators and Pres-idents have assisted in doing it, and it is now too late to urge that they have acted without au-

Indeed, the power to prohibit slavery in territory belonging to the United States has been exercised by Congress again and again, and just as often conceded by Southern statesmen; but if it were not so, we might well say to those gentlemen who deny the power-show us the power to nc-

quire and to cede away territory, and we will show you the power to govern it. There is no doubt, then, Mr. Chairman, as to the power, the right, of Congress to legislate over this subject—to make such a probibition. There are some of the non-action, non-intervention gen-tlemen, who entertain notions that I will not un-MONEY: MONEY: M. B. It is a second still be obliged to the sec

binding.
It sounds queer to hear gentlemen, in the same breath that they tell us Congress has no right to prohibit slavery in the Territories offer us a com-promise—how? Why, by Congress prohibiting slavery north of a certain line, and saying nothing about it south. Is it constitutional, then, for Congress to prohibit slavery north of 360 30, or of some other line which may be agreed upon by the parties, but unconstitutional to prohibit it south of that line? Why, after you tell us it is uncondo you offer us when you agree that it shall be prohibited in a portion of them? What does an unconstitutional prohibition amount to? What not make such bargains—however much in a bar-gaining mood we might be. I do not know what others may do-I am not a compromising man. cannot compromise upon a constitutional ques-tion—I cannot compromise upon a question of human freedom—and, so help me God, I will not I tell you I belong to that reviled political sect, the Free-Soilers. I go against any slave territory, any more slave States. You shall have no diffi-culty in making up an issue with me. Perhaps it is vaunting too much to say so; but I trust you will have no difficulty in getting me to a trial bring this cause to a hearing as soon as you please—God and the country decide between us. I believe that delay is the cause of more trouble than any-thing else. Why, this question ought to have been settled long ago. I tell you, if you settle it by the legislative power of this Government against my views of right, I will submit. I believe I may say the same for the mass of the people of the North. But if it is settled against you—if slavery be prohibited in these Territories, we are told you will not submit: no, you will never submit. You wont submit to degradation! You roll up your eyes in astonishment at the mere introduction of such a proposition into this House. Have you really, sir, been taken by surprise? Did you never hear of such a thing before, or did you think Northern men were not in earnest when they told you that they should endeavor te exclude slavery from all territory to be acquired from Mexico? I confess they have given you but

You, Mr. Chairman, are a Southern man, and a friend of the late Administration. You were a member of the 29th and 30th Congresses, and an ardent supporter of the Mexican war. Let me ask you, sir, what was that war begun and prosecuted for? Was it not for territory? and was it not obvious from the beginning that it would only not obvious from the beginning that it wo result in the acquisition of territory? and was it not just as obvious that when the territory should be acquired, the strife that we now have must be acquired, the strife that we now have must come? Were you not warned, over and over again, that the attempt would be made to exclude slavery from it, and that it would be persisted in to the end? Yes; but you and your friends sneered at the warning - You confidently appeared to be able to appropriate the whole or the ment of this prohibition against slavery in those greater part of it to slavery. Had you believed Territories now free? Why should it not be that you would not be able to do that, the war done? If a majority of the people desire it, if a would have ceased; indeed, it never would have

> gain: it is invites aggression. Her mines and her valleys upon the now and ever will hold out almost irresistible invites aggression. Her mines and her valleys now and ever will hold out almost irresistible temptations to our Southern brethern to provoke war with her, which must always result in the conquest of her territory; and the sympathy of her people with the African race will always after the Proviso afterwards. No, sir, the was not in his seat, nor is he now.
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> There is another possible motive for the conduct of the non-actionists, which has just occur-fessed. But I avow it as my opinion, as my decided opinion, that these Representatives have conducted the non-actionists and the sympathy of the non-actionists. Which has just occur-fessed. But I avow it as my opinion, as my decided opinion, that the North—the free States, by their Representatives here—have fallen (in their works) so far short of the free States, by their Representatives here—have fallen (in their works) so far short of the non-actionists, which has just occur-fessed. But I avow it as my opinion, as my decided opinion, that the North—the free States, by their Representatives here—have fallen (in their works) so far short of the non-actionists. Which has just occur-fessed as a supplied of the non-actionists and the non-actionists are not of the non-actionists. The north provide the non-actionists are not of the non-actionists and the non-actionists are not of the no ford means of provoking war. Only one thing can prevent such wars, and that is to convince the Southern people that the territory, if conquered, must ever remain free. That will do it, sir. Let the people of the slave States be assured that whatever territory may bereafter be conquered of Mexico will be free, and they will keep the peace towards that country without bonds.

Now, it is quite obvious that if the Territories Now, it is quite obvious that if the Territories or States bordering on Mexico should be slave soil, then the adjoining Mexican territory, when acquired, would become slave soil; and that if, on the contrary, our border should be free soil, any future acquisitions of Mexican territory must also be free soil. And it is only when we view the question in this light that we can see all its importance. By prohibiting slavery in the territory already acquired from Mexico, we exclude it forever from the territory yet left to Mexico, and, what would be no less desirable, we should prevent future wars of conquest being waged by this country against that, and which could not fail to provoke the wrath of a just God against us. It it for these reasons that I say it is our duty to prohibit slavery in the Territories; and I wish that this House, at least, would always stand firm upon this ground. I once thought it always would—that it would never abandon this position. And permit me to tell you that so long as this House shall stand firm for free soil, no matter what the Senate may do, no matter what the President does, the cause of freedom will be safe. Just let it be understood by the people of the Territories that they can never come into this Union as a State—that the House will stand in their way and keep them out as long as slavery is tolerated in their constitution, and, sir, we shall have no slavery constitutions presented here. there was a majority of anti-slavery States represented in it. And what did the first Congress that assembled under the Constitution do? The Representatives from all the States, acting together, provided for organizing a Territorial Govthis Union with a constitution tolerating slavery. ernment for the only Territory we then had, the Northwest Territory, for excluding slavery therefrom, and for creating five additional States, to be the will of their constituents, slavery never will be

No thanks to the President, or his Secretary, or slavery States at that time outnumbered the slave
States; and it must have seemed probable, if not the constitution of California. I believe, and think I have good reason to believe, that they would each have preferred that the constitution should power" was not deemed essential to the safety or welfare of the slave States then. That is a new idea. At that time they could not and they did Southern men from taking their slaves there, not contemplate that there was ever to be an equal number of slave States to free States in the Union. But the acquisition of Louisiana, and Florida, and Texas, since—events which could not then have been foreseen—gave the slave their acts conform to the will of the people.

Southern men from train that the states which the newly-discovered gold mines drew whilst the newly-discovered gold mines drew another triangle another triangle and the people there were for free soil, and the politicians made their acts conform to the will of the people.

Presidential another triangle anot

The case is different with New Mexico. It is people, and hence more of the former than the lat-ter will go there. No rich mines of either gold or silver have as yet been discovered there, to attract an extraordinary number of free laborers from the North to the country; and unless slavery be prohibited there, the attempt will be made to in-troduce it, and probably successfully made. But, sir, within a very short time the ground

which this House did at first occupy, the ground which the last House occupied, has been surrendered and given up, and now we are told by our Southern friends that the Wilmot Proviso is dead, that your anti-slavery cause has been abandoned by the House, and that its real friends are the derision of the majority. It must be exceedingly gratifying to those Representatives of free North-ern constituencies who voted down the Wilmot Proviso the other dey, to be told to their faces that the Wilmot Proviso is dead; that it has been mur-dered in the house of its friends; that its own professed advocates and supporters have trampled it under their feet. That is the way it was killed, if killed it has been. But don't take that as a settled question. So far as this House can kill it, it has, confess, been killed; but I tell you it is a living, abiding principle in the hearts of the people of the free States. And it may turn out, after all, that, instead of killing the Wilmot Proviso, those pa-triotic gentlemen have only been committing suicide. There are not ten men in this Hall coming from free States that could have got here had it been understood by their constituents that had it been understood by their constituents that
they were opposed to the Wilmot Proviso. There
are not two Whize from free States who could
have got here he they told their constituents
before they were elected that they would do as
some fifteen have done since. But there has
been a great-change going on in the public mind;
a marvellous light has been let in upon the minds
of some gentlemen. Why, when this question
first arco this session, upon the motion of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Stephens] to lay the
resolution upon the table, that motion was lost by
some eighteen or twenty majority. In three or four
weeks the same motion was made, and was carried
by 26 majority. That is very fast for even the arguments of power and patronage to work upon
This work of dissolving the Union would, if

against it—that he would send such messages to Congress as he has sent since the commencement of this session, he could have got but a precious few there. The "indomitableanti-slavery Whigs" of New York and Pennsylvania might have done something for him. But out of those two States he would not have gone far. It was evident that either the North or South was to be deceived—the Wilmot Proviso men or the Pro-Slavery men. It was a pretty even chance, some thought; but, I confess, I deemed the sugar plantation, with three hundred slaves, would be a little dust on one side of the balance. But it was nothing more than a that I doubt the ships in the activative that I doubt the ships in the salar. On the salar was nothing more than a that I doubt the ships in the salar was a pretty even chance, some thought; but, I confess, I deemed the sugar plantation, with three hundred slaves, would be a little dust on one side of the balance. But it was nothing more than a stitutional for Congress to prohibit it at all in of the balance. But it was nothing more than a any of the Territories, what kind of a compromise game, at the best. I neither wanted to cheat nor to be cheated; and bence I took no part in it. I stood out. And now we find how the thing works. before their constituents, who are in favor of do-ing nothing now, vote to lay on the table the Wilmot Proviso. Not all of them do that. There are among them many who did not vote at all, though they are here or hereabouts. It is bad enough for gentlemen representing constituencies in favor of the Proviso to vote against it, but it is worse at least I regard it as worse-for such to refuse to vote on the question. Better, sir, vote wrong than dodge. What a scattering there was here when the yeas and nays had been ordered on the motion to lay my resolution on the table. Some gentlemen had not even time to take their hats out with them. What a number of friends we had calling on us at that moment. What a sickly season that was, and what a spectacle the

> at all. They, sir, are the true non-actionists. They carry out the viewsof the Executive in spirit and It is not long, sir, since my friend and colleague [Mr. Schenck] made an eloquent speech here, in which he handled us Free-Soilers pretty roughly, because, as he said, we had refused to vote for a decided and consistent friend of the Proviso, and had thereby contributed to the election of a slaveholding Speaker. It is true that we might have voted for my friend's candidate, and possibly, with our votes, he might have been elected; but what kind of a Speaker should we have got if he had been? Why, one of these non-act friend of the Proviso, sir? Yes, a friend

senting at least 70,000 free people, and authorized to speak and act for them, neither spoke nor acted

"Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike" the Proviso. Between such a friend and an enemy, I think there was not much to choose, though, as a general rule, I would prefer an open enemy to a skulking friend.

The friends of the Administration by this cele-brated "plurality rule," sought to make the Prec-Soilers choose between their candidate and the present Speaker. They sought to drive us on to their favorite ground—"a choice of evils"—but we would choose neither, sir. They were caught in their own trap, and were constrained to vote to confirm the election of the very man they had professedly tried to defeat. It was very natural that they should feel vexed, still they ought not to int. Larged the result of their bad manage-ment over to the Free-Soilers; but they are welcome to all they can make out of it. If we had even lacked a good reason for our course at the time, their candidate has been so obliging as to furnish us with one since. I would suggest to my friend, that when he publishes a second edition of his speech, he should add a note informing his readers that the Wilmot Proviso candidate, for whom the Free-Soilers would not vote, would not himself vote for the Proviso afterwards. No, sir,

state it. It may be that these gentlemen had been forewarned that the Proviso was about to be done not, if I had the power to execute them, I believe to death, and that as their tender sensibilities that those gentlemen who have found it consistent would not permit them to witness the execution, with their sense of duty to vote down the Provise, would not permit them to witness the execution, they just stepped out until it was over. If gen-tlemen can think of anything better than this, I

gentlemen, who profess to be opposed to the ex-tension of slavery, and who yet voted agains he Proviso or refused to vote at all, give for their ac-tion or their non-action? Thus far they have been dumb as a fish; but some of the newspapers have reasons as thick as black berries for both sorts

First, they say the resolution was premature. Was it any more premature the other day than it was a mouth before? Why did not they vote to any nore premature now than it was at the last session of Congress? and yet at that session a similar resolution was passed by the House, and it called forth two bills—one for California and the other for New Mexico. Was a bill any more necessary for New Mexico then than now? It is a little singular to find these gentlemen following in the footsteps of General Cass so closely in all respects. He, you may remember, was vociferous for the Proviso in August, 1846, at the close of the first session of the twenty-ninth Congress, when he regretted exceedingly that Governor Da-vis defeated it by his ill-timed speech, as he called it. At the next session it was premature, and at the next it was unconstitutional. When will these gentlemen arrive at that point also? Shortly, sir, if they keep the course they have started upon. Next they say it is unnecessary. Unnecessary! Why was not this found out in 1848? That was one of General Cass's excuses then, and nobody denounced him for it more than these same gentle men. I have already stated my views on this point. If gentlemen have any other reasons to give, they may give them themselves. I have mentioned their two best-no, not theirs, for they borrowed them both, or rather picked them up

after the owner had thrown them away. The Democratic Representatives from free States, who still adhere to the Cass doctrine o' "non-intervention," would of course vote against the Proviso. Nothing else was expected of them: but there are some who have professed to be in favor of the Proviso, and yet voted against it the other day, and others who didn't vote at all. they get enough of non-intervention at the last Presidential election, or do they still hope to make another trial with the same or a similar candidate? Do they still hope to conciliate the South-

I rejoice, Mr. Chairman, to be able to say that there are many (I wish there were more) repre-sentatives from the free States, in this House, of both the great political parties, who not only talk in favor of Free Soil at home, but vote in favor of it here — gentlemen who can neither be prevailed upon by threats on the one hand, nor cajoleries on the other, to swerve from their principles or their duty; and however much I may differ with them on other questions, whilst this great question of the extension or non-extension of slavery remains open and unsettled, and whilst I hold a to bear my humble part with them in our common effort to restrict slavery, at least to its present limits. If my voice could reach their constitu-encies, I would say to every true Free-Soiler among them-look to it that your representatives be well sustained at home.

Now, gentlemen talk about what will happen if the North shall continue its "aggressions." This is a purely speculative question; for I suppose, as far as this Congress is concerned, there is to be no further aggression. No; this aggressive policy is stopped; it has ceased. But I have said—and gentlemen must pardon me if I still say and believe it, too-that there is but one thing more ab surd than this talk about the dissolution of the Union; and that is, the alarm which some gentle-men feel about it. Dissolve the Union! It is a mere speculative question because the North will not go on aggressing. No! so many Northern Representatives have already backed out of the Proviso. And, judging from what has been the effect of these "solemn warnings" upon them, we

and with but little prospect of a very rapid increase, for it is in the hyperborean region. At this season of the year, traveling is done there on spow shoes. It is a good land the state were put in force there. And had it been known in the North that he was against it, and would use his influence against it—that he would send such messages to good deal enlarged upon that subject, if, instead of against it—that he would send such messages to the Mississippi river and back again—out and back, sir, at their own will and pleasure. Not that I doubt the chivalry, the gallantry, and cour-age of the Southern people. Not even the vaunt-ing of that gallantry of which we have had a specimen, can bring it under suspicion with me. Why, I would not own them for fellow-citizens, if have heard. It is not the way folks confident in their own strength ordinarily talk. But then it depends a good deal upon how they have been brought up. [A laugh.] Dissolve the Union! How will it work? Sup-

pose you do meet in Convention and resolve that the Union is dissolved, will that absolve the President of his official oath? Will he not stand there still clothed with the authority, armed with the power to execute the laws of the land? And would they be executed? Well, they would. There is no mistake about it. It would be right in his line of business. And let me suggest to you another thing that would follow as an inevitwhole thing presented. Gentlemen, each representing at least 70,000 free people, and authorized to speak and set for them, neither and authorized to speak and set for them, neither and authorized to speak and set for them, neither and authorized to speak and set for them, neither and authorized to speak and set for them, neither and authorized to speak and set for them, neither and authorized to speak and set for them. and all that sort of thing, would be paraded through your States. Let me suggest one thing more, as a mere matter of opinion of course, that you had better have a Frederick Douglas on every plantation of the South, lecturing upon the "God-given rights of man," than to have this kind of mili-tary fuss and parade among you. It wouldn't be favorable to your "peculiar institution." [Langh-ter.] It would go a great way to enlighten your slaves of the real, not market, value of weak heads and strong arms—the very material for mobs and insurrections. And if there is any institution on the face of the earth—not excepting the despotism of Russia—that should be conservative—that should scorn anything like civil war, insurrection, or mob violence—that should avoid everything which goes to teach men with arms that they can, if they only make the right kind of an issue, overcome men with brains—it is your institution of slavery. And it may be, or rather might be, if we were now to have the will of the majority of the people of this country carried out, and you were to remain in your present frame of mind, that you would rush upon a crisis that would make it necessary for you to speedily execute in part what is evidently the decree of God—the extermination of slavery throughout the world. You might bring on a state of things which would make it necessary to bring about, so far as this country is concerned, this result by your own means; sye, you might arouse and bring into ac-tion the war power—which is almost unlimited by the Constitution—the warpower—the military despotism, that would use your slaves just as it would fuel or fodder, to promote its own success. When opposing armies should be marching and countermarching through your land, do you suppose that you could keep all your slaves quiet? Would they be likely to remain neutral in a civil

Mr. Chairman, I find that, without touching upon some topics to which I had intended to al-lude, my time is almost exhausted. I regret as much as any man can, that the North-the free or evade voting upon it at all, will get more light in one week after they reach their homes, than wish they would suggest it.

What reason, Mr. Chairman, will Northern and that was a great deal.

My time is so nearly out, that I will detain the committee no longer.

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